

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAIRO 00183 01 OF 02 071709Z

43

ACTION H-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 NSC-05 NEA-07 AS-01 /022 W

----- 005474

R O 071605Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9030

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 0183

LIMDIS

H PLEASE PASS CONG FOUNTAIN'S OFFICE

TEL AVIV ALSO FOR CODEL MORGRAN

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG

SUBJECT: CODEL MORGAN MEETING WITH PEOPLES ASSEMBLY SPEAKER MAR'I

SUMMARY. DURING JANUARY 6 MEETING AT PEOPLES ASSEMBLY WITH
SPEAKER SAYYID MAR'I (ALSO ATTENDED BY ASU SYG RIF'AT
MAHGUB AND PEOPLES ASSEMBLY MEMBERS ZAKARIYA GUM'A AND LAILA
TAQLA), CODEL ENGAGED IN FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, DURING WHICH
MAR'I VOICED IN FORCEFUL TERMS EGYPTIAN DESIRE FOR MORE ACTIVE US
ROLE IN ME PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. MAR'I REITERATED REQUEST BY
PRESIDENT SADAT TO CODEL PREVIOUS DAY FOR "DEFENSIVE" ARMS, STRESSED
THAT LIBERALIZATION OF EGYPTIAN ECONOMY IN FACT AN EXPERIMENT WITH
AREA-WIDE IMPLICATIONS WHICH USG HAS FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN
SUPPORTING; AND MADE POINT THAT, UNLESS US ENTERS INTO DIALOGUE WITH
PALESTINIANS IN NEAR FUTURE, RADICAL FORCES WITHIN PLO WILL
CONTINUE TO GAIN STRENGTH AND MAKE REASONABLE SETTLEMENT OF
ME CRISIS LESS OBTAINABLE. CODEL INFORMED SPEAKER THAT
CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF EVEN DEFENSIVE ARMS FOR EGYPT
UNLIKELY AT PRESENT, AND MAR'I THEN INQUIRED, IF ARMS FOR
EGYPT NOT OBTAINABLE, HOW COULD USG PERSUADE MILITARILY STRONG
ISRAEL TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 00183 01 OF 02 071709Z

WEAK EGYPT. END SUMMARY.

1. EGYPTIAN-US REALTIONSHIP. MAR'I STATED THAT IN PAST US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS HAD BEEN DAMAGED BY MISTAKES ON BOTH SIDES, CITING REFUSAL TO FINANCE ASWAN HIGH DAM, CURTAILMENT OF PL 480 WHEAT SHIPMENTS DURING NASSER ERA, REFUSAL TO BECOME INVOLVED IN EGYPTIAN INDUSTRIALIZATION AS EXAMPLES OF US SHORTSIGHTEDNESS. AMONG EGYPTIAN MISTAKES MAR'I CITED IBTTER DENUNCIATION OF US BY NASSER IN PORT SAID SPEECH AND OVER-RELIANCE BY EGYPTIANS ON SUCH SLOGANS AS "DRIVING THE ZIONISTS INTO THE SEA." MAR'S STRESSED THAT, IN VIEW OF DETERMINATION OF RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS, EGYPT WELCOMED RENEWED PERIOD OF FRIENDSHIP WITH US, ALTHOUGH EGYPTIANS PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO AVOID REPETITION OF "SAME OLD STORY" (I.E., US FAILURE TO PROVIDE WEAPONS AS IN 1955, LACK OF CONCERN WITH EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND FAILURE OF USG TO INDUCE ISRAEL TO MAKE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY FOR LASTING ME PEACE). MAR'IS STATED THAT CURRENT MODERATE EGYPTIAN POLICY STILL IN FORMATIVE STAGES AND UNDER ATTACK FROM RADICAL ARAB REGIMES INSTIGATED BY USSR. HE VOICED CONCERN THAT USG DID NOT SUFFICIENTLY COMPREHEND THAT MODERATE EGYPTIAN MODEL, IF IT IS TO BE COPIED BY OTHER ARAB REGIMES, MUST SHOW TANGIBLE BENEFITS, WHICH CAN ONLY BE SUPPLIED BY US.

2. WEAPONS FOR EGYPT. MAR'I FORCEFULLY STATED THAT, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES, COULD A MILITARILY WEAK EGYPT SIGN A LASTING PEACE AGREEMENT WITH A PREPONDERANTLY POWERFUL ISRAEL. MAR'I STATED THAT ONLY USSR OR US COULD SUPPLY ARMS FOR EGYPT IN LONG RUN, AS BRITISH AND FRENCH INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT INSUFFICIENT FOR EGYPT'S NEEDS AND WEST GERMANY DOES NOT SUPPLY ARMS TO ME AREA. SPEAKER COMMENTED "ONLY AMERICA OR RUSSIA CAN DELIVER A THOUSAND TANKS IN TWO DAYS." MAR'I STATED THAT EGYPT DID NOT DESIRE SAME VOLUME OF WEAPONS SUPPLIED TO ISRAEL, BUT WOULD GLADLY SETTLE FOR EVEN 40 TO 50 PERCENT OF AMOUNTS PROVIDED TO ISRAELIS. WHEN REP WILSON POINTED OUT THAT THERE NO LIKELIHOOD OF PASSAGE OF EGYPTIAN ARMS BILL THROUGH CONGRESS, MAR'I REMINDED CODEL OF IMPASSE OVER ARMS IN 1955 WHICH PROMPTED CZECHOSLOVAKIA ARMS DEAL AND REQUESTED CLARIFICATION FROM CODEL AS TO EXACTLY WHAT CONCRETE STEPS US WILLING TO TAKE IN ORDER TO PROMOTE CONCESSIONS BY MILITARILY DOMINANT ISRAEL WHICH FELT NO NEED TO COMPROMISE. REP. BROOMFIELD NOTED IT SHOULD NOT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAIRO 00183 01 OF 02 071709Z

BE ASSUMED GOI WILL RECEIVE ALL MILITARY AID IT HAS REQUESTED. CODEL MEMBERS EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ISRAEL COULD BE PERSUADED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, AS PEACE IN INTEREST OF ALL ME PARTIES.

3. PALESTINIANS. MAR'I STATED THAT MODERATE LEADERSHIP OF PLO CURRENTLY RAPIDLY LOSING GROUND TO RADICAL REJECTIONIST

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAIRO 00183 02 OF 02 071652Z

43

ACTION H-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 NSC-05 NEA-07 AS-01 /022 W

----- 005277

R O 071605Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9031

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 0183

LIMDIS

ELEMENTS LED BY PFLP LEADER HABBASH. MR'L BELIEVED THAT CURRENT ISOLATION OF PLO FROM ME NEGOTIATING PROCESS ONLY STRENGTHENED RADICAL HAND AND US ENTRY INTO DIALOGUE WITH PLO WOULD PROVIDE MODERATES, LED BY PLO CHAIRMAN ARAFAT, OPPORTUNITY TO REGAIN UPPER HAND. MAR'L STATED THAT PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP GENERALLY RECEPTIVE TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND WOULD MODERATE EXTREMIST STAND IF PLO WAS INCREASINGLY BROUGHT INTO WORLD FORUMS WHERE REALISTIC APPROACHES PREVAILED. MAR'I SPECIALLY CITED EVENT AT OAU SUMMIT IN 1975 IN KAMPALA, WHERE PALESTINIANS HAD COME PREPARED TO DEMAND RESOLUTION CALLING FOR EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN, BUT HAD REALIZED, IN WAKE OF KHARTOUM STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT SADAT PRIOR TO OAU SUMMIT, WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY OTHER AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED LEADERS SUCH AS TITO, THAT PREVAILING PUBLIC OPINION DID NOT FAVOR SUCH A STEP.

THEREAFTER, PALESTINIANS MODIFIED THEIR STATEMENTS ON EXPULSION AND FOLLOWED EXAMPLE OF MODERATES, E.G., EGYPT AND YUGOSLAVIA. MAR'I POINTED TO RECENT STATEMENT BY PLO DELEGATE TO UNESOCO CALLING FOR CREATING OF PALESTINIAN STATE IN WEST BANK AND GAZA (ALTHOUGH SUBSEQUENTLY DISAVOWED BY PLO LEADERSHIP), AS EXAMPLE OF MODERATE PALESTINIAN STATEMENT THAT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY USG IN FUTURE. PAR'I STATED THAT ISRAELI POSITION OF NON-RECOGNITION OF PLO REMINDED HIM OF WORN OUT EGYPTIAN STANCE REJECTING ANY FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL WHICH HAD BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 00183 02 OF 02 071652Z

ABANDONED IN WAKE OF 1973 WAR. MAR'I ALSO EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT ISRAEL SHOULD MAKE FIRST STEP TOWARD PLO, BECAUSE PALESTINIANS ARE ONES DISPLACED FROM THEIR LAND AND PLO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AT THIS STAGE MIGHT LEAVE PALESTINIANS WITH NOTHING. MAR'I FURTHER STATED THAT CURRENT ISRAELI REJECTION OF CONCEPT OF WEST BANK-GAZA PALESTINIAN STATE CLASHES WITH PRE-1973 STATEMENTS BY CURRENT ISRAELI FONMIN ALLON CALLING FOR CREATING OF JUST SUCH A STATE. COMMENTING ON PALESTINIAN GROUPS, MAR'I SUGGESTED THAT APLESTINIANS DIVIDED INTO PLO MODERATES, RADICALS, AND WEST BANK RESIDENTS ALTHOUGH, IN WAKE OF RABAT SUMMIT, PLO NOW SPEAKS FOR WEST BANKERS.

4. ME NEGOTIATING STEPS. MAR'I STATED THAT IN ORDER MAINTAIN STRENGTH OF MODERATES IN ME, CONTINUAL PROGRESS TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT REQUIRED. SPEAKER STATED THAT, IF STEP BY STEP PROCESS PRODUCED SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS, PLO WOULD INEVITABLY ADOPT MODERATE STANCE AND EVEN SYRIA WOULD STOP ATTEMPTING TO GAIN CHEAP POPULARITY BY ADOPTING RADICAL RHETORIC. IMPORTANT ELEMENT, HOWEVER, IS THAT STEP BY STEP MUST INVOLVE SUBSTANTIAL ISRAELI PULL BACKS, AS HAGGLING OVER SMALL NUMBER OF KILOMETERS SCARCELY STRENGTHENS HAND OF MODERATES. MAR'I STATED THAT SYRIANS DO NOT THEMSELVES CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO ISRAEL AND ISRAELI COMPLAINTS THAT ISRAEL HAS MANY ENEMIES A BIT EXAGGERATED, AS NO WAR POSSIBLE WITHOUT EGYPTIAN PARTICIPATION AND THUS INTEREST OF BOTH USG AND ISRAELIES LIES IN SUPPORTING RATHER THAN HINDERING EFFORTS OF EGYPTIAN MODERATES LED BY PRESIDENT SADAT. EGYPT IN ADDITION TO STEP BY STEP APPROACH WHICH PERHAPS PROVING TOO SLOW, CURRENTLY FAVORS RECONVENING OF GENEVA MEPC WITH PLO PARTICIPATION.

5. SOVIET-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. REP FOUNTAIN ASKED MAR'I TO EXPAND ON REMARK MAR'I HAD MADE IN DISCUSSING RECENT HISTROY OF GOE-USSR RELATIONS. MAR'I HAD SAID THAT SHOULD USSR OFFER SETTLE DEBT ISSUE AND RESUME MILITARY ASSISTANCE, THEN GOE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE OTHER THAN ACCEPT OFFER. MAR'I CONFESSED HIS REMARKS WAS BASED ON IMPOSSIBLE HYPOTHESIS AND HAD BEEN MADE TO PROVOKE DISCUSSION OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT.

6. COMMENT: DISCUSSION WITH SPEAKER WAS LIVELY AND FRANK AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAIRO 00183 02 OF 02 071652Z

BOTH SIDES MANAGED TO EXPRESS CLEARLY CONCENRS AND FEARS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. MAR'I TIED MOST OF HIS POINTS TO CENTRAL CONCLUSION THAT US HAS FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN SUPPORTING

ME MODERATION, IE, SADAT NEGOTIATING STANCE, LIBERALIZATION AND STRENGTHENING OF EGYPTIAN MIXED ECONOMY, AND MODERATE FACTION OF PLO. SPEAKER STRESSED THAT EGYPTIAN EXAMPLE HAS REPERCUSSIONS THROUGHOUT ARAB AREA, AND EGYPTIAN SUCCESS WOULD BE COPIED BY MANY OTHER STATES. CONVERSELY, HOWEVER, EGYPTIAN FAILURE ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND WITH THE PLO WOULD ONLY FURTHER ACCELERATE ARAB RADICALIZATION WHICH NOW RPT NOW BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT WITHIN PLO. SPEAKER ALSO STRONGLY STRESSED WHAT EGYPTIANS REGARD AS ESSENTIAL NEED FOR RESUPPLYING EGYPTIAN MILITARY. HE DISMISSED AS UNREALISTIC LONG RUN POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING ARMS FROM DIVERSIFIED WESTERN SOURCES. MAR'I SEVERAL TIMES POINTED OUT THAT EGYPTIANS COULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH HEAVILY ARMED ISRAELIS FROM POSITION OF WEAKNESS.

7. CODEL FELT DISCUSSION WAS UNUSUALLY CANDID AND BROUGHT OUT REAL PROBLEMS WHICH COMPLICATE ROAD TO PEACEFUL ME SETTLEMENT. MAESTRONE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, LIBERATION FRONTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976CAIRO00183
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760005-0426
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760181/aaaactpn.tel
Line Count: 240
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <27 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL MORGAN MEETING WITH PEOPLES ASSEMBLY SPEAKER MAR'I SUMMARY. DURING JANUARY 6 MEETING AT PEOPLES ASSEMBLY WITH
TAGS: PFOR, OREP, EG, US, XF, (MORGAN, THOMAS E), (MARI, SAYYID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006